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Review of *The Latinos of Asia: How Filipino Americans Break the Rules of Race*. Anthony Christian Ocampo. Reviewed by Yin Liu.

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Book Reviews

Anthony Christian Ocampo, *The Latinos of Asia: How Filipino Americans Break the Rules of Race*. Stanford University Press (2016), 257 pages, \$22.95 (paperback).

In this book, Anthony Christian Ocampo aims to probe into Filipino Americans' self-identification about ethnicity and how they fit themselves within the American racial hierarchy. It is also a thought-provoking book on racial dilemmas and the pan-ethnic possibilities of minorities in the United States. In order to obtain first-hand material, the author interviewed eighty-five Filipino American adults between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, who were second generation Filipino immigrants and currently living in two middle-class, multi-ethnic neighborhoods in Los Angeles, namely, Eagle Rock and Carson.

The book begins with the puzzling case of Filipino Americans' racial identity. The U. S. Census classifies Filipinos as Asian, but all of the interviewees disapprove of the classification, which seems to them only a geographic coincidence. On the contrary, they assume that because of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines they share more traits with Latinos than with Asians, including last names, religion, language and culture. Though they feel torn encountering the racial identification question on a form, they sing the praises of the hybridity of their ethnic culture because of the historical influences from Spain and the United States. Unlike other Asians, who reside as ethnic cliques, Filipinos think of themselves as "racial chameleons," capable of adaptation to the multiethnic neighborhood environment.

Thus race is not merely about the color of one's skin; it depends on one's social context. Filipino "color" changes depending on where they live, where they go to school, and whom they befriend. In neighborhood communities, there is little ethnic estrangement between Filipinos, the "Mexicans of the Asians," and Latinos. However, in schools, especially in public schools, academic tracks are almost always

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stratified by race. In the absence of other Asian American students, Filipinos are stereotyped as "typical" Asians, expected to excel in academics and supposed to be on the honors track, while Latinos are assumed to be less academically ambitious and expected to stay on the regular track, even if they have the ability to excel. As a result, students are inclined to self-segregate by race, and racial tensions at times erupt into physical conflicts.

After they enter universities, Filipinos find themselves underrepresented minorities, changing from model students in high schools to at-risk undergraduates. "In both Eagle Rock and Carson, Filipinos account for more than 80 percent of the total Asian population, and they are the predominant Asian group in their high schools" (p. 46). However, within the racial context of college, the overwhelming majority of whites and East Asians cause Filipinos to encounter an unprecedented cultural shock during freshmen orientation. This results from the fact that they had little or no practice interacting with whites and Asians, since, according to the author, "Even among Filipinos from Eagle Rock, where a third of residents are white, interactions with whites were minimal" (p. 154). Racial integration doesn't necessarily mean actual social incorporation. With a sense of both cultural and academic marginalization and isolation, Filipinos exclude themselves from "real" Asians while promoting "a shared sense of peoplehood" with other minorities, and Latinos in particular. Meanwhile, they are more eager than before to embrace their ethnic heritage. Filipino Culture Nights, for instance, are annual showcases sponsored by Filipino student organizations throughout the United States to help people learn about Filipino history and culture.

Filipino racial ambivalence is the product of post-colonialism and cultural imperialism. By means of disseminating in colonies a discourse that assumed the normality and preeminence of everything occidental, cultural imperialism effectively imposed its power on the oriental, an exotic and inferior Other. With their native cultural heritage eroded, the colonial Other is subordinated and marginalized, and the hybridization of colonial languages and cultures leaves them perplexed about their ethnic identity. Unlike other Asian Americans,

who have more "pure" cultural heritage, Filipino Americans find it awkward to fall into these same racial categories.

On the other hand, certain cultural and linguistic advantages inherited from the Spanish and U.S. colonial period enable Filipinos to integrate in multi-ethnic social contexts with greater adaptability than other Asian Americans. In addition, it facilitates Filipino American ability to straddle Latino and Asian racial categories. How they negotiate panethnic boundaries, in turn, brings to light the flexibility and inclusiveness of race.

Developing more intimate ties with Latinos than with other Asians, Filipinos can only think of chopsticks, Japanese mountains, pho noodles and so on when talking about Asian Americans. They distance themselves from each other for lack of cultural recognition and social interaction. At the same time, "their status as racial minorities still hinders some whites from regarding them as full-fledged Americans" (p. 33).

Accordingly, it is a tough job to balance being Filipino and being American. Whether and how to maintain ethnicity in immigrant countries is a common racial dilemma for all ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, in the present age of economic globalization and cultural integration, we should discard minority stereotypes, increase understanding and celebrate differences through mutual respect and equal exchange. As no culture flourishes in isolation, every culture needs to absorb foreign cultural elements to renew itself, and one's cultural identity must be forged out of the co-existence of multiple cultures.

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Michael C. Gizzi and R. Craig Curtis, *The Fourth Amendment in Flux: The Roberts Court, Crime Control, and Digital Privacy*. University of Kansas (2016), 188 pages, \$19.95 (paperback).

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized. (4th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution)